UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

FORTIETH YEAR

2600th MEETING: 25 JULY 1985

NEW YORK

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NOTE

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2600th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 25 July 1985, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Guennadi I. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2600/Rev.1)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The question of South Africa:

   Letter dated 24 July 1985 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17351);

   Letter dated 25 July 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Mali to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17356)

The meeting was called to order at 4.45 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring Presidents

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): As this is the first meeting of the Council in July, I should like, on behalf of the members of the Council, to pay a tribute to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr. Errol Mahabir, and to the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr. D. H. N. Alleyne, for their service as Presidents of the Council during the month of June. I am sure that I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation for the great diplomatic skill and courtesy with which they conducted the business of the Council last month.

Statement by the President

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like to inform the Council that the Secretary-General is unable to be with us today since he has to undergo some medical tests. I am sure that all members of the Council join with me in expressing to him our best wishes. We are confident that he will be back with us within the next few days.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question of South Africa:

Letter dated 24 July 1985 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17351);

Letter dated 25 July 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Mali to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17356)

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cuba, Kenya, Mali and South Africa in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Niaré (Mali) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Mudho (Kenya) and Mr. von Schirnding (South Africa) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 25 July from the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which reads as follows:

> "I have the honour to request the Security Council to permit me to participate in my capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the provisions of rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, in the Council's consideration of the item 'The question of South Africa' ".

5. On previous occasions, the Council has extended invitations to representatives of other United Nations bodies in connection with the consideration of matters on its agenda. In accordance with past practice in this matter, I propose that the Council extent an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

It was so decided.

6. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The Council is meeting today in response to the requests con-

tained in letters addressed to its President: one dated 24 July, from the representative of France [*S/17351*]; the other dated 25 July, from the representative of Mali [*S/17356*].

7. Members of the Council have before them document S/17354, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Denmark and France.

8. Mr. de KÉMOULARIA (France) (*interpretation from French*): First, Sir, let me wish you the most effective possible presidency. Your widely acknowledged diplomatic abilities, amply demonstrated during our consultations, convince us that our confidence in you is well placed. We are very happy to have you as President and wish you every success.

9. Secondly, mindful of the fact that last month the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Trinidad and Tobago presided over an imposing number of meetings, with a very heavy agenda, my delegation would therefore ask his representative here to convey to him our appreciation of his fine conduct of those debates. In addition, I pay tribute to our colleague the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, who also displayed great intelligence and diplomacy.

10. "The *apartheid* régime of South Africa is abhorrent to all persons committed to justice and human rights." In making that statement the day before yesterday, the Prime Minister of France, Mr. Laurent Fabius, recalled a well-known position of my country, which my predecessors and I have expressed on many occasions within these walls. France is totally opposed to racial discrimination and rejects it, all the more when it is erected as a system.

11. This year, when we are celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the Organization, must I recall that in the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations, the peoples of the United Nations have declared their determination "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women . . ."?

12. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of France reconfirmed that fundamental position here in New York on 9 October of last year during a special meeting organized by the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

13. France shares that position with the other members of the European Community, whose Ministers for Foreign Affairs, in their declaration of 23 July, expressed their "gravest concern at the continuance of human suffering in South Africa caused by the *apartheid* system" [*see S/17362, annex*].

14. *Apartheid* is contrary to the moral and political principles on which our society is based. Its elimination, as was recalled in Brussels by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, Mr. Roland Dumas, offers the only prospect for a possible settlement. Neither arrests, arbitrary detentions, the policy of forced removal of populations nor violence exercised by the forces of law and order can be a solution. The solution lies only in the establishment of a just and democratic society based on the equality of civil and political rights and on equal respect for the dignity of every human being.

15. None the less—and again I quote the head of the French Government—"The events of recent days have shown a new and serious deterioration. By declaring a state of emergency, by conferring full powers on the army and the police, by multiplying arbitrary arrests and by giving the order to fire on the populations, the South African Government is increasing its repression."

16. Those are the facts that led my Government to request an emergency meeting of the Security Council.

17. It is indeed the Council's duty to renew its condemnation of the system of *apartheid* and the practices that derive from it, including the mass arrests that the government of Pretoria has just initiated. It should also call for the immediate lifting of the state of emergency and the prompt and unconditional release of all political prisoners—including Nelson Mandela, who has been imprisoned for more than 20 years.

18. The draft resolution which my delegation has submitted for the Council's consideration [*S/17354*] urges States Members to take a certain number of measures against the Republic of South Africa. Faced with the increased suffering endured by the men and women of South Africa, the international community expects from us a reaction that is both firm and realistic. It is in this spirit that we have drafted the text on which we have invited the Council to take a position. Some may find, in one sense or another, that this text does not meet their own concerns. What we are seeking in this tragic situation is a unanimous stand on the part of the international community.

19. France, for its part, has decided immediately to recall its Ambassador to South Africa and to suspend forthwith and unconditionally any new French investment in that country.

20. May I be allowed, by way of conclusion, to quote once again the Prime Minister of France, Mr. Fabius, who said, "France is, by tradition, a land of human rights and freedom. It cannot turn a blind eye to the flagrant violation of fundamental human rights. We hope that many other countries will join us so that justice and wisdom may finally prevail in that part of the world."

21. Mr. MAXEY (United Kingdom): I should like first to congratulate you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of July. This first formal meeting of the Council is taking place late in your presidency, but you have in the informal consultations which have been under way during the course of the month shown the high professional qualities, the impartiality and the good humour which the Council looks for in its President.

22. I extend my delegation's cordial thanks also to the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, and the Minister

for Foreign Affairs of that country, for the admirable, not to say exemplary, manner in which they guided the affairs of the Council in June.

23. My Government and the British people are horrified at the growing violence within South Africa. This violence, which has continued throughout the last year, has now claimed over 400 lives. It has occurred not only between members of different racial groups, but within those groups. It is the tragic but inevitable result of the deep-seated frustration of the majority of the people of South Africa. Repression provides no answer. The South African Government must address the root cause: the need for fundamental reforms.

24. The state of emergency imposed in 36 districts of South Africa since last weekend has now been followed by further deaths and the detention without charge of hundreds of people. Such action, in adding to the numbers who languish in detention without trial, will solve nothing; it simply increases domestic tension and international concern at the situation. In Britain, Parliament has been debating the situation in South Africa until the early hours of today, 25 July.

25. The sense of parliamentary and public outrage in the United Kingdom is shared by our partners in the European Community. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Ten issued a unanimous declaration in Brussels on 23 July deploring all acts of violence in South Africa and calling for an end to the state of emergency and the release of all those held under its provisions. The Ten stressed that the first requirement was the rapid opening of dialogue between the South African Government and the authentic representatives of the non-white community, with the clear goal, *inter alia*, of ensuring adequate representation of the black community at the national level [*see S/17362, annex*]. It was, I am sure, right to put dialogue at the top of the list, for the way forward must be through negotiation.

26. The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, in a speech to the Royal Commonwealth Society in London on 23 July, gave further emphasis to the British Government's strong views about the present situation in South Africa.

27. He recalled that a quarter of a century ago the then British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, had warned the South African Parliament that the wind of change was blowing through the continent of Africa and that the growth of national consciousness was a political fact. Sir Geoffrey Howe declared that *apartheid* was unacceptable, unworkable and indefensible; it was contrary to all British and Commonwealth values and was given added repugnance by the existence side by side of two communities—a ruling minority and a majority deprived of power—between which the inequalities were vast. Most repugnant of all was the fact that these inequalities were built upon foundations of racial discrimination.

28. There is no disagreement within the Council, indeed within the whole United Nations, on these points. We are united in our view that the system of *apartheid* must be brought to an end as soon as possible. There are differing views on the ways in which this can be achieved. For my own Government, the path of negotiation and of dialogue between the communities concerned must be preferred to armed struggle, violence and the repression which this engenders. We believe that it would be gravely irresponsible for the Council to encourage violence. We equally believe that the Council must consider in a serious, sober and responsible way the likely consequences of other courses of action.

29. It would not be responsible to call for measures which, on the basis of extensive past experience, including the experience of southern Rhodesia, we know to be ineffective. It would not be responsible to call for measures which would have a damaging effect on the population of South Africa and of neighbouring countries, without achieving the end which we all desire. It should be common ground between us to maintain a balance of pressure and persuasion in our relations with South Africa, keeping open the channels of communication and the prospect of economic advancement for poorer sections of the community while insisting on far-reaching reform.

30. As Sir Geoffrey Howe stated on 23 July, the state of emergency has sharply underlined the urgent need to redress fundamental grievances. There must be action of a convincing and effective kind to create a climate of confidence which will permit a real dialogue with genuine leaders of the black community, whom blacks must be permitted to choose.

31. Sir Geoffrey called on the South African Government to take the following steps: the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other acknowledged political leaders; an end to forced removals; an end to detention without trial; an end to the state of emergency; the progressive abolition of discriminatory legislation such as the pass laws and the Group Areas Act; a commitment to some form of common citizenship for all South Africans.

32. Our objectives in this debate must be to persuade the South African Government to take these steps and to implement the far-reaching reforms which we agree to be necessary. Our objective is to show South Africa that there is an alternative to the present violence and repression. This objective will best be achieved if we approach the issue with seriousness and a sense of responsibility, and above all if we express the unanimity of view which undoubtedly exists.

33. Mr. GRUNNET (Denmark): First of all I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July.

34. I would also take advantage of this opportunity to express our deep admiration for the extremely efficient and skilful way in which the Foreign Minister of Trinidad and Tobago and the representative of that country handled the Council's affairs during the very busy month of June.

35. Once again the *apartheid* system has shown its hideous face and true nature. The most recent action by the South African authorities in declaring a state of emergency in certain areas marks a very serious escalation of repression in that country. Indeed, repression seems to be the only answer from the white minority to the demands of the black majority to exercise its rightful political and civil rights.

36. My Government once again strongly condemns this inhuman *apartheid* system, which the latest measures clearly aim at preserving. These measures will only lead to a further increase in the human sufferings caused in South Africa by the *apartheid* system and result in further violence and bloodshed.

37. The state of emergency must therefore be brought to an end immediately in the interest of all concerned, and all those held under its provisions released without delay. Denmark's unequivocal condemnation of the *apartheid* system is well known and was stated clearly during the Council's deliberations on the situation in South Africa only a couple of months ago. My Government has in many ways implemented this policy in practical and concrete action, and we have also emphasized the necessity of the Council's adopting mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

38. The latest manifestation of the racial policy of repression clearly demonstrates the need for increased international pressure against the *apartheid* system. The South African Government must be brought to understand that the *apartheid* system has to be abolished while it is still possible through peaceful means.

39. Denmark strongly believes that the situation in South Africa constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security and that the Government of South Africa is guilty of acts of aggression and breaches of the peace, in violation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

40. Pending mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, it is important that the members of the Council co-operate quickly, in a spirit of compromise, in order to reach agreement on measures against South Africa which can in an effective way increase the international pressure.

41. Consequently, Denmark co-sponsors the draft resolution presented today.

42. Mr. WALTERS (United States of America): Mr. President, I would like to begin by joining my colleagues who have expressed to you their congratulations on the skilful and impartial way in which you have conducted the Council's consultations and deliberations, wisely and with humour. On behalf of the United States delegation, I would like to express ou inks to you for that.

43. Although I had but a brief opportunity to observe their conduct of the Council's business, I wish to express our thanks also to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, who acted as President last month, for the skilful, able and wise way in which they guided the debate of the Council.

44. This is the fourth time in as many weeks that the Council has met to discuss issues relating to South Africa. Such is a measure of the insecurity and violence that beleaguers the area, bringing anguish to so many.

45. Today, however, we are not discussing a military strike or the efforts of a people to realize nationhood; we are discussing a Government's treatment of its own population. Such a discussion must focus on one overriding goal: what the world can do to help abolish the system of *apartheid* whereby a person, because he or she is not white, is deemed socially and politically inferior.

46. My country underwent a terrible civil war to rid itself of institutionalized servitude and prejudice. Brother fought against brother until an abhorrent racial system was eliminated. We wish no country to undergo the same haemorrhage of lives and talents that inevitably results when one man seeks to oppress another.

47. Since the formal instigation of *apartheid* the United States has sought, in a variety of ways, to encourage the leaders in Pretoria towards a truly humane government. There are those in this room who, while sharing our objectives, criticize our means. They say we have not done enough to pressure the South African Government on its internal policies, and that no significant change can be effected without totally isolating Pretoria economically and politically.

48. The United States firmly believes, however, that such an isolation would lead to more bloodshed, to increased autarky of the South African economy, to a curtailment of external influence to effect change and, in the end, to greater suffering for the very people we are all trying to help.

49. The United States condemns unequivocally the system of *apartheid*. The Administration of President Reagan holds *apartheid* directly responsible for the tragic events occuring at this time in South Africa. Particularly under the present state of emergency, we look to the South African Government to exercise its responsibilities in a manner which respects the fundamental rights of all South Africans. The violence and deaths must end—now—so that South Africans can proceed to a meaningful dialogue leading to urgent, fundamental reforms and an end to the system of *apartheid*.

50. My Government has on numerous occasions over the years conveyed to the South African Government, in public and in private, its firm conviction that *apartheid* will sooner or later lead the country into chaos. To underscore the seriousness of our conviction, we have undertaken various measures. For example, in an effort to eliminate *apartheid*, United States arms sales to South Africa have been embargoed since 1963, and in 1977 the United State

joined the United Nations in imposing a further mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. Our regulations are, in fact, more severe than the United Nations embargo and restrict United States exports to the South African military and police for items which are not covered in the United Nations embargo. In December of last year [*2564th meeting*], the United States joined with other Security Council members in voting for an embargo on imports of arms and ammunition produced in South Africa. We have recalled our Ambassador to Pretoria for consultations.

51. Our commercial relationship is now also restricted. We extend no official credits to South Africa. The Export-Import Bank is essentially prohibited from financing United States sales to South Africa except under very restrictive circumstances. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation does not provide investment guarantees for South Africa. Our representative at the International Monetary Fund must actively oppose any facility involving use of Fund credit by any country which practices *apartheid*, unless the Secretary of the Treasury makes certain certifications to Congress. United States trade fairs do not travel to South Africa. We carefully review export license applications for the export of, among other things, United States crime control equipment to prevent the use of such items in the enforcement of *apartheid*.

52. My Government seeks to eradicate *apartheid* by employing the full power of its diplomacy, by working with elements in South Africa that share a vision of peace and harmony, by encouraging fair employment practices for United States companies there and by involving ourselves in financing programmes—of some $30 million in three years—to give South African blacks better training and opportunities. We are joined by Americans from many walks of life, our companies that are spending millions of dollars to aid the black working man in South Africa, our press, civic organizations and other bodies. In short, United States policy has teeth.

53. Furthermore, we believe our actions have had an effect, but that extreme measures will not produce the desired result. We are not convinced, however, that certain elements of the draft resolution under consideration are suitable means of discouraging *apartheid*. Particularly the suspension of new investments troubles us. It can only disrupt the functioning of an economy that has in recent years been increasingly open to blacks and has given them growing power to eliminate *apartheid*. Between now and the end of the century, the black population of South Africa will double, and thousands of Africans from neighbouring States will seek employment, as they now do.

54. The United States will continue to speak out and act against oppression in South Africa. The dignity of mankind is at stake. The situation in South Africa is dangerous. Human lives are at stake. It is time for the international community to act responsibly and to use its influence constructively, not to take actions that will have the opposite effect from those intended. We call on all States to join with us in responsible and constructive action.

55. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): On behalf of the Australian delegation, Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you on assuming the presidency of the Council for the month of July and to express our appreciation of the very skilful manner in which you handled our informal consultations earlier this month.

56. I wish also to express briefly the thanks of the Australian delegation to the Foreign Minister and the representative of Trinidad and Tobago for the exemplary manner in which they discharged their duties throughout the month of June.

57. On four separate occasions this year, the Council has been called into session to consider the policies of the South African Government—first in relation to *apartheid*, then in relation to Namibia and subsequently in relation to its actions against Angola and Botswana. We regret that circumstances require us yet again to meet to consider South Africa's actions.

58. Australia's policy on *apartheid* was set out at length in our statement to the Council on 8 March [*2571st meeting*], and I will not repeat what we said on that occasion. I wish, however, to emphasize that our opposition to *apartheid* is fundamental. *Apartheid* is a universally condemned system of State-controlled racism, and it is backed by a range of draconian security legislation. It disadvantages and degrades the overwhelming majority of South Africa's population. It is at the root of the political instability and tensions which increasingly afflict southern Africa.

59. In a statement on 22 July, which has been circulated to members of the Council [*S/17355, annex*], the Australian Foreign Minister, Mr. Bill Hayden, vigorously condemned the decision of the South African Government to introduce a state of emergency in 36 districts of South Africa. Mr. Hayden urged the South African Government to enter into dialogue with the real leaders and representatives of the black communities in South Africa in order to avert an impending catastrophe.

60. The state of emergency is the first introduced in South Africa since 1960, when the South African Government invoked emergency powers in the wake of the Sharpeville massacres. It gives the South African army and police authorities nearly unlimited powers of arrest and detention and search without warrant, and extensive powers to impose curfews and censor information about unrest and protest in affected areas. While non-white South Africans, and, indeed, some courageous white South Africans, are daily deprived of their basic human rights, the introduction of the state of emergency reveals starkly the extent to which the South African authorities are prepared to go to shore up the *apartheid* system. We are often treated to South African assertions that South Africa is a defender of democratic values in the face of a totalitarian onslaught. These protestations have been shown once again to be hollow by South Africa's own recent actions. Repression and violence are the weapons of totalitarianism, not of liberal democracy.

61. While exact figures are difficult to ascertain, it appears that the authorities have moved ruthlessly in detaining over 800 people so far—people about whom it is an offence to publish information. In addition to those detained under the provisions of the state of emergency, others have been detained under the provisions of previous legislation. In addition, many others have been killed and wounded in associated violence since 21 July.

62. The Australian Government strongly condemns those moves further to restrict human and political rights in South Africa. The fundamental concerns, needs and aspirations of black South Africans will not be addressed by the state of emergency. So long as 73 per cent of the population is constitutionally excluded from the political process there can be no prospect of stability in South Africa.

63. Recent cosmetic attempts at reform in South Africa have failed to produce dialogue or political stability. On the contrary, they have resulted in widespread protest and violent opposition. The process of reform upon which the South African Government claims to be embarked has proved ineffective as a means of redressing fundamental wrongs and has been increasingly discredited.

64. The state of emergency was imposed after months of violent protest by the black community against the Government's constitutional measures. Some 500 people have been killed and thousands injured since the new discriminatory constitution was promulgated last year. The South African Government and security authorities have responded to legitimate protest and grievances with shocking and widespread repression.

65. Leaders of black political movements, including the UDF and the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), as well as of student, church and community groups, have been arrested. Most of the leadership of the UDF has been put on trial on charges of treason. Administration, education and commerce in many townships have broken down.

66. In our view, the state of emergency will not provide a permanent end to violence. Rather, it is more likely to encourage people to feel that the only way to achieve real progress lies through confrontation and violence.

67. The storm clouds of frustration and anguish darken daily over southern Africa. If the South African Government does not turn away from confrontation to reconciliation within its own boundaries, inevitably and tragically that storm will burst. The Australian Government therefore calls upon the South African Government to lift the state of emergency in those districts in which it has been imposed and to set free immediately and unconditionally all political prisoners and detainees.

68. On a number of occasions in the past, Australia has made it clear that it remains ready to support the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa in response to its *apartheid* policies. The draft resolution before us urges States Members to take a number of steps in relation to their dealings with South Africa. While the Australian Government holds the view that only fully respected and universally applied economic sanctions can be really effective, we can support the draft resolution before us [*S/17354*].

69. In conclusion, I should like to emphasize that the Australian Government does not condone violence. We recognize, however, that only the removal of the grievances and the introduction of genuine political reform, through consultation with the real representatives of the black community, can offer the prospect of lasting and peaceful solutions in South Africa.

70. Mr. QIAN Yongnian (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): At the outset, Sir, I wish to extend to you the warm congratulations of the Chinese delegation on your assumption of the presidency for this month. I am convinced that with your outstanding talent and rich experience in diplomacy you will certainly be able to guide the Council to the successful completion of its work for July.

71. I wish also to take this opportunity to convey our thanks and admiration to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, who served as President of the Council last month, for their excellent performance in helping the Council discharge its heavy tasks in June.

72. Since the end of last year, the South African racist authorities, in defiance of strong condemnation by the international community, have been conducting sanguinary suppression of the broad masses of the South African people struggling against *apartheid*, thus seriously aggravating the situation in that country. On 20 July this year, the South African authorities once again declared a state of emergency in 36 cities, towns and districts, to step up and attempt to legalize their massive repression of the South African people. According to the latest reports, more than 800 people were arrested and about a dozen killed in three or four days. All justice-upholding countries and peoples throughout the world are outraged at this new development. The Chinese Government and people strongly condemn these fresh criminal acts of the South African authorities. They are deeply sympathetic to the black masses who have been subjected to repression and persecution by the South African authorities, and are firmly supportive of the just struggle of the South African people.

73. It is only a matter of course that the South African authorities should have met with resistance from broad sections of the South African people, including many white people, and with strong condemnation by large numbers of African countries and peoples and all the justice-upholding countries and peoples in the world, as they are still practicing, even today in the 1980s, the barbarous policy of *apartheid* which should long ago have been swept onto the garbage heap of history. The General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted numerous resolutions condemning South Africa's policy of *apartheid* and demanding the complete elimination of that

system. However, the South African authorities have turned a deaf ear to all of this and have refused to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions while obstinately clinging to their system of *apartheid*. Furthermore, they have intensified their barbarous policy of suppression and their policy of aggression against their neighbours. This is something the international community can never tolerate.

74. In order to deceive public opinion, the South African authorities have, since last year, been playing the tricks of their so-called constitutional reforms and their "parliamentary and presidential elections". However, the broad sections of the black people are still deprived of their basic rights as citizens, and the system of *apartheid* has remained untouched. When this fraud was exposed by the South African people and the international community, the South African authorities immediately resorted to the police and armed forces to intensify their ruthless suppression of the defenceless black masses. Since last September more than 500 innocent people have been killed and thousands more have been thrown into prison. The double tactics of deception and suppression only serve to expose further the false nature of the "reforms" made by the South African authorities, who are in essence trying to defend the *apartheid* system.

75. The Chinese delegation believes it is timely that the Council is meeting on this matter. The Council should strongly condemn the South African authorities and take urgent action immediately to stop the savage repression of the South African people by the South African authorities. It should ask the South African authorities immediately to lift the state of emergency, release all the innocent members of the masses detained of late and set free forthwith Mr. Nelson Mandela and other black leaders, as well as all other prisoners arrested for political reasons. The Council should further call upon the States Members of the United Nations and the entire international community to adopt various measures of sanctions against South Africa and to support the heroic struggle of the South African people against *apartheid*. Should the South African authorities remain unrepetent and refuse to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Council must seriously consider the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against it in compliance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

76. I wish to reiterate here that the Chinese Government and people have all along firmly opposed and strongly condemned the system of *apartheid* in South Africa, and have refused to have any contact whatsoever with the South African authorities. They will, as always, resolutely support the just struggle of the South African people against *apartheid* and for racial equality until that people wins final victory.

77. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Allow me, Sir, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, to congratulate you heartily on your assumption of the lofty post of President of the Council.

78. I wish also to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the representative of Trinidad and Tobago for their work as President last month.

79. The Council is meeting today in connection with the serious deterioration of the situation in the southern part of the African continent. The policy of *apartheid* pursued by the racist authorities in South Africa has long posed a challenge to the African peoples and to all freedom-loving peoples. That policy has been described in many United Nations decisions as constituting a threat to the maintenance of international peace.

80. Recently, the racist authorities in South Africa have been carrying out massive repression against those in favour of eliminating the inhumane system of *apartheid* in that country. In the early morning of 22 July a state of emergency was declared, which gave the police and military authorities the right to take unlimited arbitrary action against the majority of the population of the country. Hudreds of innocent people have been arrested and imprisoned. On the basis of fabricated accusations of treason against the State, the leaders of mass democratic organizations have been arrested. Army units and large police forces have been used against unarmed demonstrators. Dozens of people have been killed and hundreds wounded in recent days. Since September last year, the *apartheid* régime has killed more than 500 people. Strict censorship has been imposed to conceal the bloody crimes of the *apartheid* régime against the indigenous population of the country. Essentially there is a war being waged by the racist régime against the majority of the South African population rebelling against that régime. For the third time in the last 25 years, the *apartheid* régime is trying to crush a popular revolt using bloody terror tactics against the native population.

81. Events in South Africa cannot fail to cause widespread indignation and condemnation throughout the entire world. The worsening explosive situation in the southern part of Africa demands decisive acts by the Security Council.

82. The recent events in South Africa show that the criminal system of *apartheid* is in the throes of deep crisis. The so-called constitutional reforms loudly heralded by the Pretoria régime have turned out to be nothing less than another species of that same *apartheid* policy. The essence of the *apartheid* system and the policy of aggression, which causes suffering to the people of Africa, remains unchanged and goes against the basic interests of the people of South Africa and other African peoples.

83. In 1985, when all freedom-loving peoples are celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism and the establishment of the United Nations, we find it especially intolerable to have recidivists of the racist inhuman ideology represented by *apartheid* continuing their work.

84. We would also recall that many of those who now head the *apartheid* régime or headed it in the recent past

were, in the years of the Second World War, which was unleashed by Hitlerite fascism, open proponents of fascism. For example, *The New York Times* today published material which shows that the former Prime Minister of South Africa, Verwoerd, after the war was editor of the newspaper *Die Transvaler*, which glorified the evil acts of the Fascists. Another former Prime Minister of South Africa, Vorster, was one of the leaders of the pro-fascist terrorist organization Die Ossewa-Brandwag. Finally, the current President of South Africa, Botha, during the war was one of the leaders of the Nationalist Party of South Africa, which declared itself a proponent of fascism and openly attacked the anti-Hitlerite coalition. Now, as everybody knows, that is the ruling party of South Africa.

85. We mention all this to show that the present régime in Pretoria is a spritual successor to fascism. It is also known that the fascism of Hitler, in order to camouflage its criminal plans for world domination, used the bugaboo of a communist threat. The same trick is now being used by the *apartheid* régime. The representative of that shameful régime has more than once resorted here to anti-communist rhetoric, and we are sure that he will continue to do so. But we hope that nobody will be deceived by it with regard to the true goals of the policy of *apartheid*.

86. The *apartheid* régime is a malignant tumour in the body of Africa. It endangers peace and must be removed surgically; that is, comprehensive and binding sanctions must be introduced, as provided by Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. The arguments, admonitions and incantations we have heard here today from the representatives of some countries, which, indeed, are supporting the Pretoria régime in any way they can, as we can see from past experience will not help the situation. The limited economic sanctions mentioned here will not lead to the elimination of the régime.

87. It is known that for many years the Security Council, the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies have repeatedly demanded an end to the *apartheid* system in southern Africa and have demanded the granting of equal rights to the entire population of South Africa.

88. In a resolution it adopted unanimously on 12 March 1985 [*resolution 560 (1985)*], the Council urged the Government of Pretoria to end violence and repression against the native population and against other opponents of *apartheid* and to carry out immediate measures to eliminate *apartheid*. How did South Africa respond to these appeals and demands of the international community? The Pretoria authorities crudely ignored them and continue to trample upon the elementary human rights of 23 million native inhabitants of South Africa and to persist in their acts of aggression against neighbouring countries.

89. Obviously, the South African racists would not act so brazenly and provocatively if they could not rely upon the constant support of their Western protectors, mainly the United States, whose leaders proclaim the policy of "constructive engagement" with Pretoria. This support for the regime allows it to carry out a policy of State terrorism and to resort to new harsh repression. It is precisely the so-called constructive engagement of Washington with the *apartheid* régime which has led to an increase in Pretoria's aggressiveness in recent days, to persecution against those fighting racism in South Africa and to expansion of its aggressive acts against neighbouring African States.

90. The Soviet Union vigorously condemns the military-political support for the racist régime by certain Western countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the United States policy of "constructive engagement" with the Pretoria authorities, and the attempts to lead the South African régime out of a situation of political isolation.

91. All African countries, all non-aligned countries and all the socialist States have been advocating the adoption of urgent, effective measures against the *apartheid* régime in South Africa. This demand is contained in the decisions of many international forums, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and so universal a forum as the General Assembly.

92. Indeed, at its thirty-ninth session, as we all recall, the General Assembly vigorously condemned the South African *apartheid* régime for its continued brutal oppression and violence, for its illegal occupation of Namibia and its repeated acts of aggression, subversion and terrorism against independent African States [*resolution 39/72 A of 13 December 1984, para. 3*].

93. The General Assembly has stated that only the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule, through the full and free exercise of adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa, can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa [*ibid., para. 5*].

94. The General Assembly has urged the Security Council to consider measures to ensure the total exclusion of the racist régime of South Africa from the United Nations and its family of organizations, and has requested the Security Council to give special attention to action, under Chapter VII of the Charter, against South Africa [*ibid., paras. 10 and 11*].

95. The Soviet Union feels that the Council should act, with the full sense of responsibility given to it by the Charter, to examine the present dangerous situation in southern Africa and urgently take effective measures against the racist régime, for the situation in South Africa represents a serious threat to international peace and security.

96. Recent events in South Africa again underline the timeliness of the demands of African States that the Security Council impose, under Chapter VII of the Charter, comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime. The Soviet Union vigorously supports those demands. The Council must exert its weight and authority so as to put an end to the South African racist régime's acts of repression against the overwhelming majority of

the people of that country. The Council should make its contribution to eliminating the most shameful phenomenon of our time—*apartheid*.

97. In conclusion, I wish to state that the Soviet Union stands united with those fighting racism and *apartheid*. Our country has always given and will continue to give necessary support to the African peoples in their just struggle against *apartheid* and for freedom and social progress. The Soviet Union will continue consistently to carry out its policy of supporting the national liberation movements, including those in southern Africa, and of firmly and vigorously rebuffing aggressive schemes of racism and imperialism and of pursuing the speedy elimination of colonialism and *apartheid* in southern Africa.

98. Unfortunately, the two-Power draft resolution that has been distributed in document S/17354 is clearly inadequate in terms of carrying out genuinely effective measures against the racist régime in Pretoria. In that respect, the draft does not go far enough, and needs substantial additions. Therefore the Soviet delegation reserves its position on this draft resolution.

99. Mr. LUNA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me first to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of July. I am sure that with your well-known personal and professional gifts, you will ensure that the Council appropriately and in timely fashion meets the lofty responsibilities conferred upon it by the Charter.

100. I should like to congratulate also the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the representative of Trinidad and Tobago on their skilful performance in the presidency last month.

101. Once again, and within a very short time since the last meeting on the subject, the Council is meeting to examine the situation in South Africa, which is the result of the stubbornness of a government that persists in living outside the norms of basic human rights, the rights of peoples, and the principles governing relations between States.

102. The various mandatory resolutions adopted by the United Nations seem to mean nothing to South Africa. Indeed, its constant stubborn defiance should lead all of us Council members not only to think hard about it, but to adopt ever more tangible measures to put an end to a situation which is an affront to human dignity.

103. The preamble to my country's political Constitution enshrines the primacy of the human being: all men, being equal in dignity, share rights of universal validity that supersede those of the State. Its article I points out that the person is the supreme purpose of society and the State. Obviously, this profound humanism, which characterizes the State and people of Peru, is reflected in its foreign policy.

104. Consequently, Peru is gravely concerned at the perpetuation of the *apartheid* system in a country, oppressing the majority of the people and depriving them of their civil, political and social rights. We are also distressed to see that legal instruments are being devised for the unequivocal purpose of consolidating and perpetuating that universally repudiated system.

105. Moreover, the South African Government, under the state of emergency, is implementing a policy of practices that have installed a reign of terror, violating the most basic of universally recognized norms of human conduct.

106. The constant repression and the declaration of a state of emergency with all its brutality are nothing more than the simple armed guarantee on which the South African racist system is based.

107. In these circumstances, I believe that the combined force of both internal and external pressure—the latter in the form of specific measures—would have a decisive influence on the Pretoria authorities and bring about conditions more favourable to the struggling South African people.

108. There is no need for me to reiterate here my country's well-known position, nor to reaffirm Peru's moral commitment to the elimination of *apartheid* and of everything that serves to institutionalize or consolidate it. We are committed to an end to repression, to the freeing of political prisoners and to a lifting of the state of emergency which has led to the trampling underfoot of basic human rights and of juridical norms governing relations between the State and its own nationals, causing suffering to the majority sector of the South African people, which has suffered discrimination. Once the shameful system of *apartheid* has at last been dismantled, let a free, democratic, multiracial society be established in that tormented country—one guaranteeing equal rights to all its citizens.

109. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of South Africa. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

110. Mr. von SCHIRNDING (South Africa): Please accept, Sir, our delegation's best wishes on your assumption of the presidency.

111. Let me at the outset place on record that my Government does not regard the internal situation in South Africa as a matter for discussion by the Security Council. In addition, it rejects the Council's double standards in debating the declaration of a state of emergency in certain parts of my country while it chooses to ignore similar situations in other countries.

112. It is noteworthy that this meeting of the Council should have been requested by France, a country which itself only recently proclaimed a state of emergency in New Caledonia, the last vestige of French colonialism in the Pacific Ocean. According to reports, more than 5,000 members of the French security forces were sent to New

Caledonia—an area with a total population of 146,000—to restore law and order there.

113. It is furthermore significant that only the other day there were clashes between police and demonstrators in the French-ruled archipelago of Guadeloupe. Crowds of people were reported to have put up barricades around the capital and set vehicles on fire. Shops and public offices were apparently shut. Evidently those involved were pro-independence supporters protesting a prison sentence imposed on a militant separatist.

114. Those developments alone, if not its long colonial heritage, should have reminded France of the difficulties of coping with such emotional issues as civil and political rights. But no, it has seen fit to call this meeting of the Council to condemn South Africa for its handling of what is an immeasurably more complex situation.

115. The Council is aware of the process of reform in South Africa to which my Government is committed. That process is aimed at achieving a political dispensation in South Africa involving all the communities in the country.

116. The South African Government stands ready to enter into dialogue and negotiation with representatives of black opinion in order to find an equitable solution to our problems which will satisfy the reasonable aspirations of all the peoples of South Africa. My Government is seeking to create structures of government which will allow participation by all, without domination. As recently as 29 June, the President of my country said the following in the South African Parliament:

> "I reject emphatically the charge that our constitutional objectives run counter to civilized conceptions of human rights, dignity and freedom irrespective of race, colour or religion. Our fundamental aim is to enable our peoples to co-operate with one another in such a way as may voluntarily be agreed between them. In other words, we stand for participation without domination.
>
> "The South African Government has no rigid ideas about the type of franchise to be enjoyed by each of our peoples and communities. It may be universal adult franchise or a qualified one or a mixture of systems.
>
> "The important thing is to meet the needs and aspirations of South Africa's peoples.
>
> "My Government stands for an evolutionary process of adaptation and innovation based upon and tailored to our circumstances. The principle of self-determination to which the South African Government is committed leaves the way open for unlimited possibilities compatible with the choices which each population group or community may eventually wish to make.
>
> "The real point at issue is therefore not one of objective but of method—the best practical way of ensuring political participation without destroying stability and progress in all spheres of life for all our communities."

117. However, one condition has been laid down, that is, that violence should be foresworn as a means to achieve political ends. I think that that is a reasonable condition which any reasonable person would accept. In this connection, the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs said the following, as recently as yesterday:

> "The organizers of violence in South Africa are not striving for the improvement of Black peoples' living standards or for a system in which Black leaders will have a say in decisions which affect the interests of all. The door is open for Black leaders who reject violence as a means of achieving political aims to advance Black interests, including Black political rights, through a process of dialogue and negotiation.
>
> "It is precisely because the establishment of a peaceful dispensation for all South Africa's communities has manifested itself as a result of the Government's reform programme that those elements which advocate a Marxist dictatorship have acted to arrest the process of reform and to prevent moderate Black leaders, or those who are anti-Marxist, from playing a constructive role in the new constitutional dispensation. They remain silent when asked why 1.5 million workers from neighbouring States come to seek work in South Africa. They do not concern themselves with the millions of starving people in other parts of Africa. They are not concerned about the lack of political rights and press freedom in most African countries, precisely because they secretly have in mind a system of tyranny in which not a single fundamental right or freedom will be tolerated. Their methods are proof of this.
>
> "It is for this reason that the State President has appealed to all South Africans to approach our country's problems with mutual understanding, to discuss differences with tolerance and to resolve them in a responsible manner. The Government does not doubt that the majority of the people in South Africa desires a peaceful solution to our problems. There is too much at stake for all South Africans to allow our future to be determined by perpetrators of violence who burn people alive."

118. It is manifestly clear that my Government has embarked upon sincere efforts at reform, in stark contradistinction to many countries of the world. More and more black Africans are standing up and saying exactly that. Professor George Ayittey, a Ghanaian Assistant Professor of Economics at Bloomsberg University in Pennsylvania, referring to opposition elements in black Africa, wrote the following in the *Wall Street Journal* on 22 July: "Many leaders have either outlawed political parties or have declared their countries one-party States and liquidated the opposition. Many opposition members have mysteriously vanished." He went on to remark, "Applying a lower standard of morality to black Africa betrays an insulting double-standard against blacks."

119. The unrest in South Africa has been and continues to be instigated to frustrate the reform process. Moderate black leadership is being intimidated by acts of assassination, murder, arson and threats to their lives and properties in order to prevent their becoming involved in the negotiating process.

120. No Government can allow lawlessness to continue unchecked. The excesses perpetrated by the extremist elements have been beyond belief. In addition to murder, arson and wanton acts of destruction of property, those elements have indulged in such barbaric acts as burning people alive. Essential services in the affected black areas have been stopped, transport has been disrupted, garbage has piled up in the streets, shops providing the daily necessities of life have been gutted, and the inhabitants, mainly black people, feared for their lives whenever they emerged from their homes. It was in order to cope with those circumstances that the authorities needed additional powers. They had tried for months to restore order with the normal powers at their disposal, but to no avail.

121. In last night's opposition press in South Africa, Bishop Tutu, who is no friend of my Government, under a banner headline "End Violence or I Quit" is reported as saying that if suspected enemies were killed in the way in which a woman was burned alive in Duduza township last Saturday, he would leave South Africa. He said before a large crowd, "If you do this kind of thing, I will find it difficult to speak for the cause of liberation". And Bishop Tutu was speaking not about white-black violence but violence perpetrated by blacks against blacks. Members of the Council no doubt witnessed these events and the Bishop's remarks via local American television coverage.

122. Surely the members of the Council must realize that if it had been at all possible to restore order and normality in the black areas by the use of normal, standard methods, the authorities would have done so. But the violence had passed beyond the point at which it could be brought under control by normal police action. Additional security measures were necessary.

123. We realized fully what the consequences of such action would be, internally as well as externally, but we felt we had a duty to the people directly affected, whatever the consequences might be. And let me emphasize that the emergency measures were introduced not to protect white lives and property but black lives and property in black areas.

124. I have the impression that some members of the Council would have preferred it if we had simply ignored the pleas of black people for action by the authorities to put an end to the violence affecting their daily lives.

125. Have the French not themselves discovered that the protection of civilians under conditions of unrest requires additional security measures? What about the measures that they have adopted to repress the violence that has erupted in New Caledonia and Guadeloupe? Should we condemn their counteraction in those strife-torn colonies as unacceptable and requiring the attention of the Council? Would overnight political change have provided an instant solution and brought about an immediate end to the violence?

126. The French Prime Minister has done the cause of reform in South Africa a disservice. France's own experience should have persuaded him of the error of his Government's impulsive, if not opportunistic, action. Sudden virtue does him no credit. The measures he has proposed, if they should ever be implemented, will bring nothing but misery to the people he now professes to want to help, as well as to our neighbours. Inevitably, the black peoples of South Africa will be the first to feel the effects of measures designed to undermine the South African economy. Is that what the French Prime Minister wants?

127. Let me assure the Council that the additional measures taken by my Government please nobody in South Africa. They will be lifted as soon as the violence diminishes. We shall continue the process of dialogue and debate, and nothing the Council may say or plan will deter us from doing what we believe is in the best interests of all the peoples of South Africa.

128. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Joseph Garba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

129. Mr. GARBA (Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*): First of all, Sir, let me say how gratified I am that the Council is meeting under your presidency. We of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* value very highly the support of your country for the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and your own personal contribution to the work of the Special Committee as its Vice-Chairman.

130. I should also like to express our gratitude to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, who is also a dedicated member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, for the very able manner in which their delegation conducted the work of the Council last month.

131. On 17 August 1984, the Council adopted its resolution 554 (1984), denouncing the so-called new constitution in South Africa, which excluded the African majority, and the elections to segregated chambers for the coloured people and people of Asian origin, warning that they would further aggravate the already explosive—I repeat, explosive—situation inside South Africa and requesting the Secretary-General to report on the implementation of that resolution. It decided to remain seized of the situation in view of its extreme gravity.

132. The *apartheid* régime proceeded, in contempt of the Security Council, to enforce the racist constitution, provoking legitimate protest by the oppressed majority. It tried to contain the popular upsurge through naked violence, deployment of armed forces against African townships, and detention of leaders of peaceful protest on charges of treason.

133. On 12 March 1985, the Council, concerned over the repression and killings that had led to an aggravation of the already explosive situation, adopted its resolution 560 (1985), in which it strongly condemned the Pretoria régime, demanded that it end repression, and once again requested the Secretary-General to report on the implementation of the resolution. Once again the Council decided to remain seized of the matter in view of the gravity of the situation.

134. The Pretoria régime, again in utter contempt of the Council, further escalated killings and repression. Forty blacks in a funeral procession were butchered by the police at Uitenhage on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, and since then there has been further violence, including the cowardly killing of unarmed refugees in Botswana.

135. Despite this escalating violence and repression, the racist régime has been unable to suppress the resistance of the oppressed people, who have been driven to the wall and are fighting for their elementary rights. In its desperation it has now declared a state of emergency, authorizing its police and armed forces to arrest, search, torture or even kill the black people and white opponents of *apartheid* with impunity and to block out news of their crimes through censorship.

136. Alarming reports have been coming out of South Africa since the imposition of the state of emergency last Saturday. I will not take the Council's time to recount them, but I must emphasize the extreme gravity of this situation.

137. The issue before the Council is not the mere escalation of repression against people struggling for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is not even the gruesome massacres, like those of Sharpeville, Soweto and Uitenhage, which will live in history as blots on human civilization. The lives of millions of people—and much more—are at stake.

138. Events have shown that the racist régime in Pretoria is a terrorist régime which knows no other way of dealing with legitimate protest than through violence and which is determined to stop at nothing to preserve white racist domination. For anyone to suggest, therefore, that this lawful régime can restore law and order or engineer reform is a gross insult to human intelligence.

139. The Council has repeatedly recognized—most recently in resolutions 554 (1984) and 560 (1985)—the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. That must be the point of departure for any discussion of the present grave crisis in South Africa.

140. The oppressed people of South Africa have built a great national movement, the nobility of which has been acknowledged by the award of two Nobel Peace Prizes in a generation, one to the late Chief Albert Luthuli and, recently, another to Bishop Desmond Tutu. This movement deserves respect as well as true solidarity at this critical time.

141. On behalf of the Special Committee, I am obliged to draw attention to the inescapable responsibility of the Security Council. As we approach the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, I need hardly remind members of the Council that the Organization has been seized of the question of racism in South Africa ever since the first session of the General Assembly in 1946. Hundreds of resolutions have been adopted by the United Nations, and the Pretoria régime has invariably defied them with impunity.

142. The Council has proved unable to discharge its responsibility under the Charter owing to the stubborn determination of some of its Permanent Members to protect the *apartheid* régime from international action because of profit from the inhuman oppression of the black people.

143. I must recall that as early as 1952 the African and Asian States, in requesting that the General Assembly consider the question of race conflict resulting from *apartheid*, warned of the danger to international peace and security. The Security Council recognized that danger in the wake of the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. And yet, again and again, the Western Permanent Members have opposed a determination under Chapter VII of the Charter that the situation in South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security and calls for sanctions and other measures.

144. The Pretoria régime has been guilty of countless massacres. It has committed aggression and terrorism against Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho and even the Seychelles. But for some Western Powers that is not considered even a threat to the peace, much less a breach of the peace, because according to them the obnoxious Pretoria régime has stood by them "in all the wars they have fought". Never mind this falsification of history.

145. We have listened attentively to the statement of the representative of the United States. With all due respect, his statement more than missed the point. The question of *apartheid* goes far beyond minor economic gestures such as those advocated by the Sullivan principles, which, in any case, are not even adhered to by all the United States companies doing business in South Africa. *Apartheid* is not merely an issue of equal employment opportunities offered by United States companies supported by the labours of blacks whose working and living conditions demean the value and meaning of human dignity.

146. *Apartheid* primarily denies the majority population the exercise of its inalienable right to self-determination. This is the crux of the matter. I would ask: how do the so-called Sullivan principles address this unjustified denial? We have stated on numerous occasions that *apartheid* is not reformable; it has to be eradicated. Its inhuman evils cannot merely be made less oppressive.

147. I submit, on behalf of the Special Committee, that at this grave juncture the minimum that is required of the Council is a clear determination that the situation in South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security under the terms of Chapter VII of the Charter. If any Member State so interprets the Charter that the indiscriminate killing of black people and incessant attacks on independent African States do not constitute a threat to the peace, let it stand up and be counted.

148. The oppressed people of South Africa have a right to expect of the Security Council concrete and meaningful action which will put an end to the inhuman system of *apartheid* and the terror that is inseparable from it, not yet another resolution that Botha and his clique can defy with impunity.

149. Before concluding, I should like to recall that on 28 November 1975, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3411 C (XXX), in which it proclaimed, in paragraph 1,

> "that the United Nations and the international community have a special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, and towards those imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their struggle against *apartheid*".

150. While the entire continent of Africa feels deeply the humiliation of the indigenous African people by the racist minority régime in South Africa and considers the liberation struggle of that oppressed people as its own, the problem of *apartheid* in South Africa cannot be regarded as merely an African responsibility. It is in that content that I am gratified that the Government of France has taken the initiative in convening this meeting of the Council. I hope that that initiative will encourage the active contribution of States from all regions of the world to the efforts of the United Nations for the elimination of the scourge of *apartheid*.

151. I thank you, Mr. President, and, through you, all the members of the Council for this opportunity to make a statement on behalf of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

152. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Mali, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States at the United Nations for the month of July.

153. Mr. NIARE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): I wish first, Mr. President, to offer you on behalf of the Group of African States and on my own behalf, warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I am particularly happy to do so, since you represent a friendly country, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, whose undeniable and formidable commitment to freedom and dignity make possible a full understanding of the tragedy of the African people.

154. I wish also, Sir, to congratulate your predecessor, the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, who conducted the work of the Council so well last month.

155. Finally, I thank you and the other members of the Council for having invited me to speak here as the Chairman of the Group of African States.

156. The Council is meeting today to consider the serious situation prevailing in South Africa following the proclamation on 20 July 1985 of a state of emergency in 36 black towns, thus giving the security forces in that country unlimited power to arrest, torture and assassinate all black opponents. By proclaiming that state of emergency, the Botha government is trying to massacre the people and consolidate and perpetuate the abominable system of *apartheid*.

157. Since making that proclamation, the racist Pretoria Government has refused to give any information, which shows that the régime is preparing to intensify the reign of terror while concealing its immoral and inhuman acts from international investigation.

158. This latest atrocity in the criminal career of *apartheid* shows the régime's strong but futile determination to oppose the advent of freedom and self-determination in South Africa. The Pretoria régime's violent intransigence is encouraged by certain Western countries which are its allies. It is clear that the latest action is only one more link in the long chain intended to strengthen the *apartheid* régime and to perpetuate the domination of the white minority.

159. The Pretoria régime's ideology is such that one cannot expect to engage its leaders in a constructive dialogue capable of bringing about an evolution of its anachronistic structures. To proceed on the basis of illusions about an internal evolution in the country through dialogue, without the abandonment of the racist ideology itself, would be a negative exercise that could only strengthen the structures of oppression.

160. The basic problem is the rules and practices of the racist Pretoria régime, and the only solution is the total elimination of *apartheid*. There is an urgent need for the international community to keep up its pressure on the Pretoria régime to oblige it to restore the legitimate rights of the South African people, by the establishment of a free, indivisible and democratic South Africa on the universal basis of human rights.

161. The Group of African States condemns the policy of construcive engagement and all other forms of collaboration with *apartheid* which encourage the racist Pretoria régime in its intransigence. It calls on the international community—and in particular the United Nations—to shoulder its responsibility as regards *apartheid* and the increasing threats it poses to international peace and security. It calls upon the Council to take the necessary measures under Chapter VII of the Charter for the total isolation of the *apartheid* régime. It reaffirms it solidarity

with the people of South Africa and their liberation movements in their legitimate struggle for freedom, justice, peace and progress.

162. The Council should make the Pretoria régime clearly understand that this declaration of the state of emergency is bound to worsen terror and conflicts in South Africa itself and throughout southern Africa.

163. Mr. SHAKER (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): We are very happy to see you, Sir, presiding over the Council, and we wish you every success, particularly as we consider the item to be of the greatest concern to us all.

164. I wish also to express our deep gratitude to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the representative of Trinidad and Tobago for the examplary manner in which they conducted the Council's proceedings last month, when the Council considered another item pertaining to southern Africa that is also of the greatest concern to us.

165. The Council has just concluded three meetings in succession last month to consider the actions of the South African Government, which are in contravention of the principles of international law, and that country's refusal to abide by United Nations resolutions, whether on its persistent illegal occupation of Namibia or its aggression against neighbouring States. Now the Council finds itself obliged to meet again in order to consider the worsening situation in South Africa itself. That situation is the result of the policy pursued by the Government of that country, which has imposed a state of emergency on the black inhabitants, depriving them of their right to equality and human dignity.

166. I wish immediately to express our gratitude to the French Government for having decided to freeze all new investment in South Africa and to recall the French Ambassador from that country. We also thank France for its initiative yesterday in calling for a meeting of the Council to consider the deteriorating situation in South Africa. The Group of African States has made a similar call today. The measures taken by France are a precursor of other measures to be taken by States which have been reluctant to take such measures so far.

167. It must now be absolutely clear that the main—indeed, the only—reason behind all the regrettable elements of the situation in South Africa, including the repression and acts of violence against the black population carried out by the South African régime, is the policy of *apartheid* stubbornly pursued by the Government of South Africa, in defiance of the international conscience and will. The Pretoria régime will never succeed in concealing that truth or in justifying the state of emergency which has been declared to give unlimited powers to the security forces and to permit them to engage in repression of the defenceless black population.

168. When the Council recently considered the question of Namibia, my delegation stated [*2583rd meeting*] that the principal foundation of the Pretoria régime is violence, whether within the country, aimed against the black population, or outside it, aimed against neighbouring States. Recent events have shown unequivocally that the régime shrinks from nothing in its violence against the black population. That violence has brought about the death of more than 500 blacks and the arrest of hundreds without specific charges in the brief time since the declaration of the state of emergency in regions inhabited by blacks. The number of casualties and detainees must be viewed with great reservation, since the sources of those statistics are the very Pretoria authorities which declared the state of emergency and gagged the press, preventing neutral observers from visiting the troubled regions.

169. The international denunciation of the actions of the Pretoria régime, which are based on the policy of *apartheid* and on repression of the black population, has become evident in recent months, increasing when the régime declared a state of emergency aimed against the black population and granted itself full power to determine the fate of the inhabitants. Public opinion everywhere, and people of all views, have demanded that the inhumane *apartheid* régime be brought to an end. It is now imperative that all Governments in the world, particularly those which maintain close relations with the Pretoria régime, use all their influence to exert pressure on the régime to make it see reason and stop trying to conceal a reality which is obvious to everyone. It is clear that all attempts of persuasion and conciliation have failed to dissuade the racist régime from its policies and practices, which have been rejected by all the countries of the world.

170. We have had occasion in the past to note the Council's special responsibility to force the South African régime to respect its resolutions, which the régime continues to defy. We have also indicated that permitting that régime to continue its racist policies will ultimately bring a bloody conflict, whose consequences would transcend the confines of South Africa and affect the entire southern African region, with repercussions harmful to international peace and security. Current events demonstrate the truth of those predictions.

171. That is why, today more than ever before, the Council must shoulder its responsibilities, entrusted to it by the international community, for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is the Council's duty to meet its responsibilities and not to hesitate to make use of all the resources available to it under the Charter of the United Nations. Any slackening in discharging this duty will have repercussions for the Council's prestige, its status on the international scene and its future effectiveness. But there will also be unforeseeable consequences for the inhabitants of South Africa, whatever the colour of their skin. Until when shall we delay application against the Pretoria régime of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter?

172. The Council must demand that South Africa rescind the state of emergency, which is aimed against the black population, along with all other emergency and special measures which have been adopted. The Council must

declare null and void all those measures, and demand that the Pretoria régime free immediately all political detainees, including the valiant freedom fighter Nelson Mandela.

173. The Council is in duty bound to demand that the Government of South Africa embark unconditionally upon a dialogue with the true leaders of the black majority to lay the foundations for a democratic, authentic Government in South Africa, in which all inhabitants, whatever the colour of the skin, would participate on an equal footing, and to put an immediate end to the *apartheid* régime.

174. The Council, finally, must ensure that the South African régime understands clearly that if it ignores those demands, the Council will be compelled to enforce the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. It has become imperative that the Council make the Pretoria régime understand that the world is not prepared to pay the exorbitant price it will have to pay if the Pretoria régime persists in its unacceptable policy of *apartheid* in southern Africa.

175. Egypt reaffirms that it stands by the side of its brothers in southern Africa and that it is unswerving in its support of their heroic, legitimate struggle for justice, democracy and equality. We have every confidence that the blood shed by the valiant freedom fighters will not have been shed in vain, but that it will result in real progress, making it ultimately possible for the people of South Africa to recover its full rights.

176. Mr. VERMA (India): Allow me first of all, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for the month of July. Although the Council is meeting formally for the first time under your presidency only towards the end of your term, we have had ample evidence behind the scenes of your diplomatic skill, wisdom and dedication to duty, as well as of your perennial good cheer. We are confident that you will guide our deliberations with sagacity and bring them to a fruitful conclusion.

177. Permit me also to convey our congratulations to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the representative of Trinidad and Tobago for the admirable manner in which they conducted the Council's proceedings during the month of June.

178. We welcome and appreciate the initiative taken by France to convene this meeting of the Council to consider the ever-worsening situation in South Africa. This initiative has received the support and endorsement of the Group of African States, which has also asked for Security Council consideration of the subject.

179. The current tragic happenings in South Africa come as no surprise. The indiscriminate violence once again unleashed by the racist Pretoria régime, the killing and maiming of innocent and defenceless people, the massive and arbitrary arrests and detentions and all else that is associated with the state of emergency imposed last week in South Africa have a familiar ring to them. We have long become accustomed to these frenzied actions of a régime under indictment and a system under siege for the inhumanity and shame that it represents. The so-called emergency powers now given to the police and armed forces of the racist régime enable them to carry on the same crimes against the majority of South Africans—killing, torture, detention and harassment—with even greater impunity.

180. The Government of India strongly condemns the imposition of a state of emergency in South Africa, which, as the Special Committee against *Apartheid* noted in its statement of 24 July, amounts to a declaration of war against the oppressed people of South Africa and the opponents of *apartheid*. If the racist régime hopes that by this act of desperation it will be able to check the inexorable tide of population resistance against *apartheid*, it is naïve to do so.

181. Sharpeville, Soweto, Crossroads and Uitenhage are but some of the grim reminders of the escalating cycle of violence unleashed by the racist régime against innocent men, women and children. They are, at the same time, milestones in the glorious struggle of the vast majority of South Africans for self-determination, freedom and human dignity. The nationwide demonstrations in South Africa against the *apartheid* régime, the overwhelming rejection of the so-called constitutional reforms, the strikes and boycotts, are all proof that the people of South Africa are astir, that they have seized the initiative and that policies of intimidation and terror cannot crush their indomitable spirit.

182. My delegation and many others have time and again said in this Chamber that the responsibility for the persistence of an explosive situation in South Africa must devolve in part on the Security Council itself for the ineffectiveness of its actions so far, and more particularly on those in the Council who have prevented firm action from being taken against the *apartheid* régime. *Apartheid* is a crime against humanity. It is an intrinsically violent system, bred on the violence that it finds necessary to inflict upon its hapless victims. It cannot be reformed; it can only be eradicated. Patience and persuasion have not worked, nor have innumerable resolutions of the Council. Pretoria has turned a deaf ear to the crescendo of international opinion. The people of South Africa have determined that *apartheid* must be destroyed, come what may, and that, if the Council does not act with a sense of purpose, they shall act on their own through mass popular mobilization. The cycle of violence and bloodshed produced by racist terror can only intensify.

183. The Council, therefore, cannot afford to vacillate, but must act decisively. There can be little doubt of the threat that the situation in South Africa today poses to international peace and security. The non-aligned countries are convinced that comprehensive mandatory sanctions are the only answer.

184. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): At the outset I should like to convey to you, Sir, my delegation's sincere, warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for the month of July. We are confident that your experience,

diplomatic skill, boundless dedication and energy will assist the Council in its deliberations on this and other important matters pending before it.

185. Allow me also to express my delegation's gratitude to your predecessor, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Trinidad and Tobago, for guiding the deliberations of the Council on the question of Namibia to their successful conclusion. The success was indeed one in a series of important questions before the Council, which benefited greatly from his statemanship and guidance. I also wish to pay a well-deserved tribute to the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, for the competent and dignified manner in which he conducted the Council's proceedings during the remainder of the busy month of June.

186. The Council is convened in an urgent meeting today in response to a request made by the representative of France, joined by the Group of African States, to consider events taking place in South Africa. My delegation fully supports the timely convening of this meeting. The events prevailing in that country constitute not only a negation of a necessary democratic process, and thus are a matter of concern to the peace-loving nations, but are also a serious threat to international peace and security.

187. My delegation learned of the deteriorating situation in South Africa with grave concern. Moreover, the recent heinous acts of the South African Government, which have caused tremendous sufferings through the arbitrary arrests and detention of hundreds of black people, further indicate the inhumane extent of its abhorrent policy and practices of *apartheid*, as well as the moral bankruptcy and perfidy of the racist Pretoria régime. The extent of such shameless hypocrisy is indicated by the statement of Pretoria's representative, particularly when he asserted that the state of emergency was imposed in order to protect black lives and black property.

188. My delegation is of the view that the root cause of the present unrest is *apartheid*, in particular in its depriving the black majority of their legitimate rights and continuing the régime of oppression against them in South Africa. The just solution to this problem can only be the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in which all segments of the population, irrespective of colour, race or creed, can determine for themselves their own future.

189. My delegation joins with the previous speakers in paying homage to the countless men, women and children who have made and are making the supreme sacrifice in the continuing struggle to establish a just and free society in South Africa, based on racial equality and human dignity, and to rid their land of the scourge of *apartheid*.

190. It is a matter of profound concern to the international community as well as to my delegation that the South African Government persists in its arrogant defiance of Council resolutions and continues to treat with disdain and cynicism the Council's actions in this respect. Thailand's position with regard to *apartheid* has been and is clear and consistent. My Government condemns it in the strongest possible terms and unreservedly supports every means to bring about its dismantling as soon as possible in keeping with relevant United Nations resolutions.

191. My delegation therefore strongly condemns the Pretoria régime for its imposition this month of the state of emergency in 36 districts, which will not only aggravate the sufferings of the black majority in South Africa but will also exacerbate tension and threaten international peace and security. In this connection, my delegation demands that the racist Pretoria régime end its policy and practices of *apartheid*, cease the oppression of the black majority which became unbridled through the declaration of the so-called state of emergency, normalize conditions in the 36 districts in which it has been imposed, set free immediately and unconditionally all political prisoners and detainees and comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions without further delay.

192. Mr. BASSOLE (Burkina Faso) (*interpretation from French*): Although the hour is late, before getting to the heart of the matter I should like first of all, Sir, to congratulate you sincerely on your assumption of the presidency for the month of July. Your great diplomatic qualities and your acute sense of human relations have led all of us in the Council to admire you. We are convinced that under your wise and dynamic conduct of our proceedings, our deliberations will help to benefit the people of southern Africa who have been victimized by the barbaric racists of Pretoria for their faith in justice and their profound aspiration to freedom and independence.

193. I should like to pay a tribute also to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the representative of Trinidad and Tobago for the outstanding work they did when they presided over the Council in June.

194. For nearly a month now the Council has met constantly to consider the consequences for the whole of southern Africa of the irresponsible policies of the odious *apartheid* régime of Pretoria. While it was striving mightily to find ways and means of freeing Namibia from the colonial and racist domination of that régime, information reached it from Angola and Botswana of violations of the national sovereignty of those States, with the usual consequences.

195. Now, by means of the declaration of the state of emergency, the racist régime of Pretoria has entered a new phase in carrying out its programme designed to perpetuate its domination over the peoples which it has constantly been oppressing solely because of the colour of their skin.

196. The international community once again seems to be a passive witness. Although voices have been heard, and will continue to be heard, in various quarters around the world denouncing and condemning this recent escalation of violence that is being suffered by our South African brothers, everything leads one to believe that they will not be enough to put an end to the grim designs of the Pretoria régime. Arbitrary arrests as well as illegal detention will

continue. Deaths and casualties will be counted in the dozens, if one is to go by the unlimited powers accorded to a blind and unbridled police force.

197. The profound meaning of these aggressions against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring States, this unquenchable thirst to silence for all time the voice of freedom fighters by all means, and primarily through violence, resides in the larger context of the burning desire of international imperialism to dominate the world.

198. What is happening in Namibia, Angola, Lesotho and Botswana, and now in South Africa itself—and I am talking about the terror that the racist régime has constantly been sowing in South Africa in general—is part of the same pattern, that of an embattled régime assailed from all quarters, from within and from without, trying vainly to retrench itself within its last redoubts—the pattern of a régime which to survive—and for how much longer?—believes only in violence.

199. This entire orchestrated pattern is nothing other than a sign of certain collapse, the death rattle of a régime in agony, hated and hounded from within, denounced and condemned without a régime that feels its inhuman *apartheid* system shrinking irreversibly.

200. For how much longer will the international community abandon the peoples of southern Africa struggling for their liberty and independence to the death-throes of the paranoia of the South African racists?

201. For our part, we say it is high time to use the only language that South Africa understands: the language of force. As to the Council, this should be reflected in the immediate adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against that régime under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Should the Council do that, as we hope it will, it will not be for want of having tried to avoid recourse to this ultimate solution.

202. The people and Government of Burkina Faso welcome the French initiative. As Mr. Thomas Sankara, President of the National Council of the Revolution, President and Head of State of Burkina Faso, said in a message along these lines addressed to Mr. François Mitterrand, President of the French Republic:

"It is a pleasant duty for my people and its political leadership, the National Council of the Revolution and myself, to address to you very sincere congratulations and our strong support for the recent courageous and just steps, in keeping with the revolutionary tradition of France, that your Government has just taken against the fascist sentinels of South Africa.

"The people of Burkina Faso salutes this political decision and is happy to note that the fraternal people of France has realized that the real nature of the racist régime of Pretoria is only a repetition of the Hitlerite nazism that our two peoples fought shoulder-to-shoulder half a century ago.

"Your attitude is an example to those who, through *naïveté* or a hypocritical will to lull our consciences, continue to preach that dialogue can put an end to *apartheid*. Accordingly, we must use that example to establish the real nature of the butchers of imperialism.

"The logic of your commitment means that, together with other peoples, we can hope to pool all economic and military means to uproot from our planet once and for all this last cancer of humanity.

"When the French Government announced its decision actively to boycott Pretoria, we had no doubt that our black brothers of South Africa were happy, as were all those who, whatever the colour of their skin, have fraternal feelings for all other human beings. Not to force ourselves to pursue this noble combat could give rise to frustration, disappointment and even greater traumatism and by complacency or complicity, deliver these men and women to their butchers because they believed in our determination.

"In this part of Africa there will always be more indulgence for those whose pessimistic evaluations of their means will have prevented them from embarking upon a crusade against *apartheid* than for those who have only half-heartedly engaged in battle.

"Today, as heretofore, the people of Burkina Faso firmly and decisively supports the fraternal French people in this noble struggle, which once again illustrates the ideals of peace, democracy and progress so dear to all peoples of the world.

"We take this opportunity you have given us to support a courageous act and appeal to other Western countries to learn once again to cherish and to pay the price of freedom for all."

203. While welcoming the French initiative which brought us together today, we feel that it would have had, and still might have, greater effect if without any hesitation or half-measures we could adopt a strong draft resolution.

204. My delegation would have preferred to see the Council take a decisive step towards the logical solution by deciding to act under Chapter VII of the Charter. We regret that that is not the case, because France's draft resolution remains very far from such a decision.

205. However, we venture to hope that the consultations to be held will provide an opportunity for all of us to express our views on the draft, make it more consistent and rally a consensus in the Council on its new contents.

206. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

207. Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I extend to you, Sir, the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, our congratulations on your assumption this month of the functions of President of the Council. Your country was the scene of epic battles and victorious struggles for the elimination of fascism 40 years ago. We are meeting today to consider once again a cruel manifestation of fascism in South Africa.

208. I take this opportunity to extend my delegation's gratitude to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the representative of Trinidad and Tobago for the constructive way in which they conducted the Council's proceedings last month, when on three occasions the same criminal as today, that is, the racist régime of Pretoria, was arraigned before the Council: first, because of its obstinate and absurd idea of perpetuating its domination over the Territory of Namibia, thus violating all the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and all those international bodies which have been obliged to consider the problem of Namibia; next, because of its attempt to blow up the oil installations of Gulf Oil in the province of Cabinda, in Angola; and then, because of its flagrant and criminal act of banditry against the military installations of the African National Congress of South Africa at Gaborone, the capital of Botswana.

209. Today we have before us evidence of what has so often been said by some delegations in the Council and in the General Assembly, that is, that channels have been blocked for the South African black masses to eliminate the *apartheid* régime by means of dialogue, and we are now witnessing a generalized uprising in which people are no longer afraid of bullets, bayonets or tanks. A whole people has risen with a single voice and cried out, as was put by Archbishop Tutu: Liberty, liberty and equality for all!

210. Dozens of towns where blacks live have been destroyed or damaged, thousands of persons have been left homeless, more than 800 have been arrested, and the racist police and army have declared open season on blacks like something out of a Tarzan film. Five hundred dead is the minimum toll of black South African victims in the past 10 months for the sole crime of having asked for racial equality in the land of their birth. Let us all be aware that those masses will fight to the bitter end to achieve their goal: the elimination of *apartheid*. There will be no peace until *apartheid* has been eliminated.

211. How long can we go on tolerating this situation? It is not simply a violation of human rights, but a cowardly and cruel act of genocide, which has worsened today with the official assumption of certain so-called emergency powers that are nothing more than a sham, since everyone knows that throughout *apartheid*'s long history arbitrary arrests have been carried out, thousands of blacks have been murdered, many persons have been summarily gaoled without trial, with the utmost disrespect for the most elementary norms of human rights.

212. But his measure by Mr. Botha reveals the state of desperation and fear to which these cowardly racists have been reduced, and we want to point out to the Council today that we would not be surprised if, in their feverish imagination, they will say they have had to bomb some neighbouring country in order to prevent the patriots of the ANC from continuing their actions against them.

213. It is very clear that what we must do is adopt all necessary measures to halt this cruel and inhuman state of affairs. Humanity can no longer witness indifferently the genocide of the South African blacks. We should like to seize this opportunity to appeal from this tribune to all men of goodwill for us to unite our voices, our energies and our efforts to bring about the final elimination of the odious and inhuman evil which is *apartheid*.

214. Today, more than ever, we recall the following words uttered by the national hero of my country, José Martí, who said: "I feel that one of my children is being killed whenever a man is deprived of the freedom of thought."

215. No human mind could have conceived that at the end of this century there would still persist such an odious régime. Those who up to today have been invoking all kinds of arguments to support South Africa now see the results of their policies. We hope that those who have advocated the policy of "constructive engagement" and attitudes of indulgence towards South Africa will relinguish them, thus avoiding contributing to any continuation of the practice of State terrorism that prevails in that country, the victims of which are not only the black people of that country but neighbouring countries. There can no longer be any excuses for failing to apply to racist South Africa the measures laid down in Chapter VII of the Charter or for continuing to oppose the outcry of the whole of mankind.

216. I should like to quote another saying of the great José Martí: "To watch a crime calmly is to commit it".

217. In paragraph 14 of its resolution 566 (1985), adopted on 19 June, the Council urges:

> "States Members of the United Nations that have not done so to consider in the meantime taking appropriate voluntary measures against South Africa, which could include the following:
>
> (*a*) Suspension of new investments and application of disincentives to that end;
>
> (*b*) Re-examination of maritime and aerial relations with South Africa;
>
> (*c*) Prohibition of the sale of krugerrands and all other coins minted in South Africa;
>
> (*d*) Restrictions on sports and cultural relations".

218. We are gratified to see that some States have already taken steps in that direction, and we would urge

those that have not yet done so to apply such measures to accelerate the end of this tragic episode in the history of mankind.

219. My delegation believes that it is essential that the Council assume its responsibilities and unequivocally demand South Africa's immediate abolition of all the discriminatory laws against the black community, that is, the definitive end of *apartheid*; an immediate lifting of the so-called state of emergency just declared by Mr. Botha; and the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, who has for 21 years languished in racist prisons, and of all the other political detainees who have been imprisoned simply because they have opposed *apartheid*.

220. If South Africa does not heed these demands, the situation will, in the view of my delegation, become more and more explosive with every passing day; thousands of people will shed their blood on the path to liberty and equality in that country.

221. Therefore it is the duty of each and every one of us today to call an end to the genocide of a people by a régime that has lost its reason, a régime that reminds us of the attempts 40 years ago to trample the soil of the Ukraine and reduce to ashes the great values of universal civilization.

222. Eternal glory to those who have fallen in the name of liberty and racial equality in South Africa! I should like to conclude by once again quoting from José Martí: "We are not working for the applause of the selfish few; we are working to join the future company of the martyrs".

223. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Kenya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

224. Mr. MUDHO (Kenya): I thank you, Mr. President and, through you, the members of the Council for permitting my delegation to participate in this important debate.

225. Africa has just spoken through the Chairman of the Group of African States, and this statement is made in full solidarity with what he said, with which we fully associate ourselves.

226. We should like to express our appreciation to the French delegation for its initiative in calling for this meeting; we in the Group of African States joined in calling for it.

227. This meeting of the Council is taking place as hundreds of black South African families mourn and bury tens of their innocent children, women and men brutally killed by the racist régime in that country.

228. The only crime committed by the black population of South Africa is their insistence on full realization of the fundamental rights of every human being, including such basic rights as full citizenship of their motherland and the right to determine their future in full freedom.

229. But the racist *apartheid* régime would have none of it. Instead, the régime is telling the black majority of South Africa that it must, at the pain of brutal death, regardless of the numbers involved, succumb to the evil system of *apartheid* imposed by the white racist dictators. In its intoxicated arrogance as to its power to impose the inhuman system within its borders, and encouraged by its kith and kin and allies in the Western world, the racist régime has had the audacity to tell the international community to join the millions of black South Africans it seems to be bent on annihilating to sit mum and look another way. We cannot afford to let them down and deepen their sorrow by sitting here simply bemoaning the situation and begging the arrogant and recalcitrant *apartheid* régime to relent in its murderous acts.

230. The racist régime is intent on hoodwinking the world by pretending that all it is attempting to do is to maintain law and order within its borders. Its allies and kith and kin abroad have lost no time in abusing the Charter of the United Nations in their protestations that, although they reject *apartheid*, South Africa should be left alone to restore law and order within its borders and generally mind its own business.

231. My delegation joins issue with the racist régime and its supporters and sympathizers. It has been and remains our firm conviction that what is happening in South Africa today, grave and appalling as it is, is neither new nor an internal matter on which the international community, through the Council, can remain indifferent. It is not new because the black South Africans have lived under the *de facto* emergency state of affairs for years. They have known no privacy of their homes, and arbitrary arrests and detentions, not to mention wanton killings, have become a painful way of life.

232. Similarly, the recent action by the racist régime is not a mere exercise in maintaining law and order but a vicious and ruthless intensification of the evil system of *apartheid*. The international community—and the Council in particular—has long and repeatedly condemned and rejected *apartheid*. The racist régime's continued defiance of world public opinion, including the opinion of the world's highest court and of the Council itself, is not only ample proof of the inadequacy and failure of the measures and methods employed so far and the consequent legitimate duty of the rest of the world to speak out on behalf of millions of black Africans against whom atrocities are being perpetrated by that régime, but an eloquent testimony of that régime's true character as an outlaw State.

233. Therefore, by their own conduct the racist oppressors have forfeited any claim to speak in the name of all South Africans, let alone try to justify their criminal acts in the name and under the fraudulent pretence of maintaining law and order, when they themselves are mischievously engaged in disrupting the lives of innocent and peace-loving black South Africans who have been denied peace

for years. How ironic, then, is it to read the words of the President of the *apartheid* régime quoted in today's issue of *The New York Times*, when he stated that

> "South Africa had a responsibility to its people not to be prescribed to by foreign Governments 'about what is in the best interests of the people of South Africa' ".

234. While it may be readily conceded that under the Charter of the United Nations, and the charter of the Organization of African Unity, as well as under international law, no State—and much less the United Nations—has any right to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of another State except under certain restricted circumstances, as I have already stated, *apartheid* has been condemned and rejected and declared to be a crime against humanity. Therefore, *apartheid* or any acts, whether of commission or omission, in furtherance of that evil, are not and cannot be an internal matter for South Africa. In any case, when the leaders of that abhorrent system speak of rejecting being dictated to from outside as to what is good for South Africans, the question may be posed as to what, in their definition, constitutes South Africans. Can they seriously contend that the total subjugation of the black population, who are the vast majority of that country, is a demonstration of the wisdom of the white racist minority which the international community must praise and support, and to which the only alternative is that dreadful spectre in the mind of the white racists known as international communism? Surely, arbitrary arrests, detentions and unprovoked murders of innocent black children, women and men cannot be in the best interests of the people of South Africa, white or black.

235. In sum, my delegation strongly deplores the current situation in South Africa, particularly the wanton loss of life and destruction of property. The cause of this tragic and worsening spectacle is the evil system of *apartheid*. The racist régime must wake up to the reality that no amount of repression or brutal force can forever suppress the anger and frustration of the majority of the oppressed black population.

236. My delegation, therefore, is convinced that, first, greater pressure, in the form of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions, needs to be strictly and scrupulously applied against South Africa. Secondly, it is the view of my delegation that the racist régime should embark on immediate dialogue between the different races of that country with a view to instituting a democratic system of government. Thirdly, the *apartheid* régime should immediately and unconditionally release all political detainees, including Nelson Mandela, to facilitate the process of peaceful political solution to the evil problem of *apartheid*.

237. Permit me to close these remarks by reading to this Council the text of the statement made yesterday by Mr. Daniel arap Moi, President of the Republic of Kenya, in the wake of the imposition of the state of emergency in a number of black South African towns. He said:

> "The Government of the Republic of Kenya has been deeply grieved by the recent declaration of a state of emergency by the Government of South Africa on the black towns in that country. The escalated political riots and social violence obtaining in South Africa for the last couple of years are clear manifestation to the entire world of the complete failure of the *apartheid* policies pursued by the Government of South Africa in total defiance of world opinion and pressure. The current intensity and dimensions of this political uprising and demonstrations by black people of South Africa, including schoolchildren, are clear warnings to the Pretoria régime that no amount of force and brutality is now capable of containing the Africans' demands for democracy, equality and justice in their own country.
>
> "It is in the light of these realities that the Kenya Government vehemently condemns the declaration of a state of emergency in the black towns of South Africa by the Pretoria régime in a futile attempt to silence the black people of South Africa from their legitimate demands for emancipation from the tyrannical and oppressive régime.
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> "It is abundantly clear that the imposition of the state of emergency will not solve the chronic problem of South Africa. There can never be political peace in that country until the Pretoria régime introduces and upholds justice and respect.
>
> "The Government of Kenya therefore believes that a lasting solution of the problems in South Africa is the total dismantlement of the *apartheid* system and immediate introduction of popular democracy throughout the country. We therefore call upon the Government of South Africa to release immediately and unconditionally all political detainees, including Nelson Mandela, and to commence, without delay, discussions with the true leaders of South Africa with a view to adopting a democratic constitution for the future Government of South Africa.
>
> "Nothing short of this can ever prevent the imminent social tribulations and catastrophe in that country."

238. Mr. de KÉMOULARIA (France) (*interpretation from French*): The representative of South Africa, whom I do not see in the Chamber and whose absence I regret, while letting it be clearly understood that the situation in his country is of a colonial type, was so bold as to compare the repression in South Africa and what is alleged to be happening in certain parts of the territory of my own country. There is a fundamental difference, among many others, which the representative of South Africa was wrong to disregard. France does not have an institutionalized racist régime, nor a system of State racism. The laws of my country make no distinction on the basis of the colour of its citizens.

239. I now turn to another point. My delegation has put forward a draft resolution [*S/17354*]. In order to make possible certain consultations that have been requested, I ask that the meeting be suspended for 45 minutes, which should enable us to vote when we resume.

240. Mr. BASSOLE (Burkina Faso) (*interpretation from French*): The non-aligned members of the Council have the same concern as the representative of France has expressed. We had intended to ask you, Mr. President, to be kind enough to suspend the meeting to make it possible for consultations to take place on the draft resolution before us. We think it only proper to make every effort to see that all Council members can support the draft resolution and, to this end, we must have the necessary time for these consultations. I still think that we can reach agreement. The representative of France and we make this request under rule 33.1 of the provisional rules of procedure. We do not now know how long the negotiations will take. We hope that we can work speedily, but, to make it more likely that the draft resolution will be adopted by consensus, perhaps we should be as open-minded as possible so that we may discuss it fully.

241. Mr. de KÉMOULARIA (France) (*interpretation from French*): I am pleased by the statement of our colleague and friend from Burkina Faso, since consultations are apparently necessary. I ask that the meeting be resumed, say, at 8.30, which allows 45 minutes or an hour for negotiations. I hope that we shall reach agreement. If by chance, though I find it difficult to believe, there is still need for further negotiations, we would report that to you, Sir, on resuming. I think that would be wise, and I am happy to see that the representative of Burkina Faso is nodding assent.

242. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The Council has heard the proposal by the representatives of France and Burkina Faso to suspend the meeting under rule 33.1 of the provisional rules of procedure.

The meeting was suspended at 7.45 p.m., Thursday, 25 July; it resumed at 12.05 a.m., Friday, 26 July.

243. Mr. de KÉMOULARIA (France) (*interpretation from French*): I wish first, Mr. President, to apologize to you and my other colleagues for the length of our consultations. It should certainly not be taken as a sign of disrespect for you or the Council. Having said that, I propose, Mr. President, that you put to the vote the draft resolution submitted by my delegation.

244. Mr. BASSOLE (Burkina Faso) (*interpretation from French*): Again speaking on behalf of my colleagues in the Council who are members of the Non-Aligned Movement, I associate myself and them fully with what the representative of France has just said about our deep regret at having had to delay the Council for so many hours. I am sure that you will understand, Mr. President, that we were making great efforts to reach consensus on the draft resolution.

245. I have listened to the request of the representative of France. Bearing in mind the negotiations and consultations that have already been started and the stage that we have reached in them, I ask on behalf of my colleagues that we take no decision on the draft resolution tonight, in order to enable some of us to consult our Governments on a number of points that still give grounds for disagreement.

246. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): We have heard statements by the representative of France, co-sponsor of the draft resolution now before the Council, and by the representative of Burkina Faso, who spoke on behalf of the non-aligned members of the Council.

247. I should like to say that much work was done by those representatives in the past hours; they have not wasted their time. All who were present in these corridors were able to see that truly intense, hard work was taking place. This attests to the great sense of responsibility with which the Council has approached this matter.

248. Bearing in mind the proposals just put forward, and the fact that a few speakers remain to be heard, I propose, if there is no objection, to adjourn this meeting now. The next meeting will be held today at 11 a.m. to hear the speakers remaining on the list. I would ask interested parties to meet before that time to continue their consultations so that the Council will be able to adopt a decision acceptable to all.

The meeting rose at 12.10 a.m., Friday, 26 July 1985.

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Litho in United Nations, New York 00400 90-61432—November 1994—1,925